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taboos and permissible marriages were a part of kinship-determined behavior and will be treated below.

Kinship Terminology

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Everyone within the Trumaí village classified everyone else by a term of relationship. Since the community was small, most of these designations expressed a demonstrable bond of consanguinity or affinity, although even outsiders were placed within the kinship system. This was done by establishing a kin tie with one Trumaí, whereupon the rest of the village could automatically place the outsider in the proper context.

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Much of the data on the kinship system is uncertain for a number of reasons. The high death rate of the Trumaí, their lack of interest in tracing genealogies, and, most important, a taboo on the names of the dead made the recounting of family lines difficult. Moreover, there is some indication that the Trumaí system was changing rapidly. Many descriptive categories for classifying collateral kinsmen were falling into disuse and being replaced by classificatory terms. The result is an extreme looseness of nomenclature, as can be seen from the accompanying list of terms collected by three ethnologists.[3]

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Term	Quain	Oberg[4]	Wagley[5]
Ego's generation			
sibling	apizi[6]		
younger brother	takwai (v) opat (r)	aheát[6] (m. sp.) takwai (w. sp.)	ha-heát[6] (m. sp.) ha-pisí (w. sp.)
older brother		apisí (m. or w. sp.)	ha-pisí (m. or w. sp.)
sister	hatdifle		ha-dufle (m. sp.)
younger sister	ta'yj	tain (m. sp.) takwai (w. sp.)	ha-takwai (w.sp.)
older sister		apisí (m. or w.sp.)	ha-pisí (w. sp.)

[3] The three lists of Trumaí kinship terms are listed below, since they, in a sense, complete and correct one another. Quain's list is admittedly incomplete and contains several errors. Wagley's terms likewise are incomplete and based on short interviews with informants during his brief stay among the Trumaí. Oberg says nothing about his Trumaí informants, and neither Oberg nor Wagley collected referential terms. The divergencies, then, may reflect misunderstandings on the part of the ethnologists or informants, or they may actually reflect changes that are taking place in Trumaí society.

[4] Oberg 1953, p. 119.

[5] Wagley, personal communication.

[6] The prefix "ha" (Wagley and Quain) or "a" (Oberg and Quain) is the Trumaí first person possessive.

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Term	Quain	Oberg	Wagley
mother's brother's son	mipine	haroopinó (m. or w. sp.)	ha-mipiné (m. or w. sp.)
mother's brother's daughter	„	„	„
father's sister's son	„	„	„
father's sister's daughter	„	„	„
mother's sister's son		adif (m. sp.) apisí (w. sp.)	
mother's sister's daughter		adiflé (m. sp.) takwai (w. sp.)	ha-dufle (m. sp.)
father's brother's son	harine (v)	adif (m. sp.) apisí (w. sp.)	
father's brother's daughter		adiflé (m. sp.) takwai (w. sp.)	ha-dufle (m. sp.)
First Ascending Generation			
father	apapa (v) a'ao (r)	apapá (m. or w. sp.)	ha-papa (m. or w. sp.)
mother	ataive (v) ale (r)	ataivá (m. or w. sp.)	ha-taive (m. or w. sp.)
father's brother	tatok (v)	atatók (m. or w. sp.)	ha-tatók (m. or w. sp.) ha-papa
father's sister	akato	akoté (m. or w. sp.)	ha-katé (m. or w. sp.)
mother's brother	wawo (v)	wawé (m. or w. sp.)	wawé (m. or w. sp.)
mother's sister	koko	kokó (m. or w.sp.)	koko (m. or w.sp.)
First Descending Generation			
son	faxio	awalók (m. sp.) awakók (w. sp.)	ha-pat (m. sp.)
daughter	faxio	yawaitké (m. or w. sp.)	ha-faxio
brother's son	faxio takwai (m. sp.) waremo (v., m. sp.) tacnam (r., m. sp.) adjut (w. sp.)	waremó (m. sp.) kamlók (w. sp.)	
brother's daughter	faxio ta'yj (m. sp.) adjut (w. sp.)	tauí (m. sp.) ayda (w. sp.)	
sister's son	faxio takwai (w. sp.)	daté (m. sp.) takwaipdá (w.sp.)	deta (m. sp.)

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Term	Quain	Oberg	Wagley
	dota (v., m. sp.)		
sister's daughter	faxio ta'yj (m. or w. sp.) tatdienam (w. sp.)	adák (m. sp.) ta'ai (w. sp.)	ha-dak (m. sp.)
Second Ascending Generation			
father's father	adjei (v) adjen (r)	ayei (m. or w.sp.)	ha-doho (m. sp.) ha-yei (w. sp.)
mother's father	adjei (v) adjen (r)	ayei (m. or w.sp.)	ha-doho (m. sp.) ha-yei (w. sp.)
father's mother	atseta (v) alen (r)	atsetá (m. or w. sp.)	ha-doho
mother's mother	atseta (v) alen (r)	atsetá (m. or w. sp.)	ha-doho
Second Descending Generation			
son's son	hadoxo	adohó	ha-doho
son's daughter	"	"	"
daughter's son	"	"	"
daughter's daughter	"	"	"
Affinals			
husband	ece	tekaú	ha-eshó
wife	hatdetsi	adetsi	ha-detsi
brother's wife		adiletsi (m. sp.)	
sister's husband		ashlá (m. sp.)	ha-eshla (m. sp.)
wife's brother		ashlá	ha-talak

Incest Restrictions

The Trumaí had no rules of group or locality exogamy. Permissible and prohibited sexual or marital relationships were a function of certain kinship ties only. The most acceptable marriage union was between cross-cousins. According to one informant, true cross-cousins should not marry, but Quain's genealogies present a number of cases in which first cousins related through sibling parents of unlike sex have done so. It is doubtful whether these represented violations of a rule, for there was one instance of such cross-cousins, when they were very young children, being pledged in marriage by their parents. Parallel cousins were not acceptable mates, nor were their children or the children of siblings.

/123 cont./

437 knives and some sacrifices from our personal belongings, we acquired a small, not unattractive collection. The people had protected from the Suyá and carried along with them the
126 things that were most important for us. There were feather
437 ornaments, necklaces of stone beads, a stone ax, valuable as
[439] an example of local manufacture, for the other Kulisehu tribes obtain their stone axes from the Trumaí, throwing sticks, a club, ten masks, dance clubs, large flutes, and various trifles.
411 To our astonishment, we did not see the large arrows with long, pointed pieces of bamboo, which the Trumaí had carried in 1884, a number of which they lost in their flight, and which we noticed had been sharpened for the encounter with us. They had probably been used up in the battle with the Suyá.

126 I spent as much time as possible during the evening writing beside a candle stub, in order to obtain a vocabulary. A
[115] younger chief proved very capable, except that in his enthusiasm he shouted with a loud voice, as though I were stone deaf.
123 Inquisitively the men squatted nearby, the witches were /124/
[604] busy at the fires, the children cried atsíu for mother and papá for father, through the branches magic moonlight poured over the strange camp scene, and soon the peace of night embraced the sleeping and the awake. We could sleep undisturbed, but were well aware that a few men remained sitting beside the fire.

The next morning, 26 October, there was great confusion. A large glass of arsenic pills had been stolen from me. Under the peculiar circumstances I would gladly have overlooked any kind of theft, but I could neither be without this arsenic for my part, nor let the Indians poison themselves with it. I was forced to suspect the Yaulapiti who had accompanied us, after our experiences in their village, and demanded that they give it back. They, of course, professed their innocence, the Trumaí became terribly afraid, the women, children, and part of the men escaped into the bushes and did not return even when one of the Yaulapiti actually brought the glass with the arsenic pills. According to his humble opinion, it had dropped out of my

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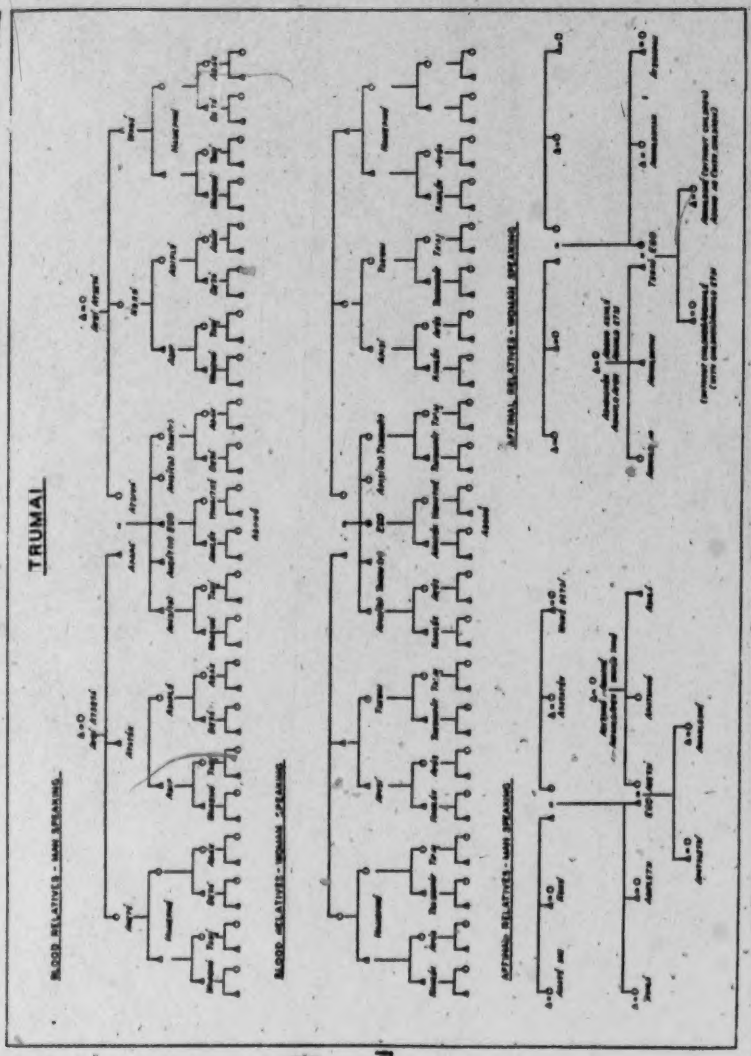

CHART 8.—Trumai, unrelated.

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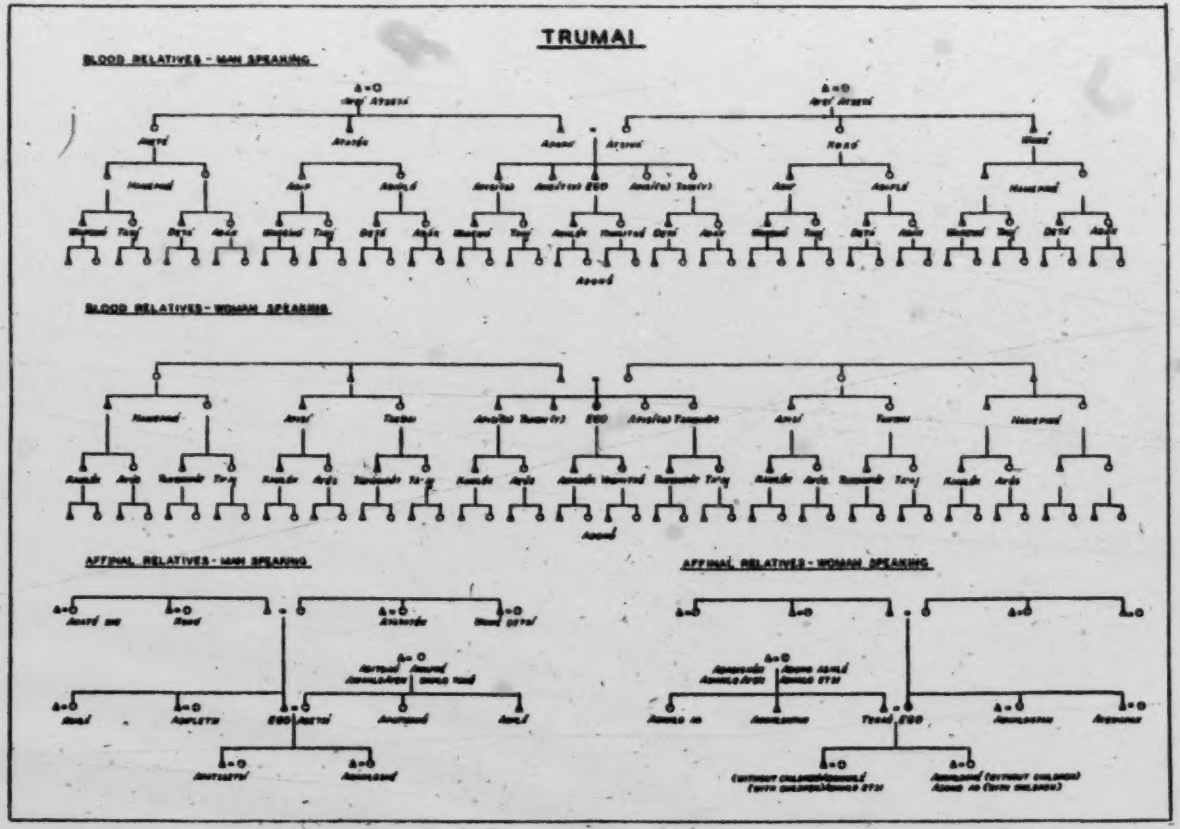
TRUMAI
BLOOD RELATIVES - MAN SPEAKING
BLOOD RELATIVES - WOMAN SPEAKING
AFFINAL RELATIVES - MAN SPEAKING
AFFINAL RELATIVES - WOMAN SPEAKING

CHART 9.—Trumai, unrelated.

6: Oberg E-5 (1947) 1953 [P.119]
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